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Mr. *PARKER's*

SERMON

PREACHED before the

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

On *Thurſday, June* 11, 1752.

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On Thursday, June 11, 1752.

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The Grounds of Submiſſion to Government, the Origin of the different Modes of Civil Polity, and the Happineſs of our own Form of Legiſlature in particular, conſidered.

A

SERMON

PREACHED before the

UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,

At St. *MARY's*,

On *Thurſday, June* 11, 1752,

Being the Anniverſary of his MAJESTY'S Acceſſion to the Throne.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ISAIAH xliv. 28.

That ſaith of Cyrus, He is my ſhepherd, and ſhall perform all my pleaſure.

IF we conſider man merely as a *free agent*, we may be tempted to carry our notions of liberty too far, and interpret freedom into a privilege of licentiouſneſs. If we conſider him merely under the character of a *created* being, the duty which we ſhall find reſulting from thence will be that of obedience to his *Creator*. If we conſider him further as a being endued with *ſocial* diſpoſitions, and intended for *ſocial* life, a new field of duties will be opened to our view, relative to his *ſocial* capacity. We ſhall be led alſo to acknowledge the original Creator to be the ſovereign ſuperintendant of the *ſocial* as well as of the *natural* ſyſtem.

But as the whole race of men, in the preſent ſtate of things, is neceſſarily divided into

diſtinct ſocieties, it is reaſonable to conclude, that the omniſcient providence of the Creator will inviſibly preſide in each: In *ſome* more mediately, and through a remoter chain of cauſes: in *others*, upon particular exigencies, by nearer and more direct interpoſitions of his power. If at any time *the foundations of the earth are out of courſe*, it is no abſurdity to imagine, that the almighty architect may again interpoſe his hand to replace it upon its proper baſis. It is no inconſiſtency to ſuppoſe, that at *all* times, through the agency of men raiſed to high ſtations, and enlarged ſpheres of action, he may accompliſh the all-wiſe purpoſes of his will.

Thus far reaſon proceeds in her deductions: revelation ſtill affords a clearer light, informing us, that *this* hath been the real caſe. The Jews were for ſome time under an immediate theocracy, for the preſervation of the knowledge of the true God: and even after the ceſſation of that divine polity, the prophet Iſaiah, in the words now read, and in their context, according to his uſual ſublimity, gives us exalted ideas of the operations, and dictates of this ſupreme inviſible director, in ſentences prophetical of facts relative to the Jewiſh ſtate.

Thus

Thus ſaith the Lord thy redeemer, and he that formed thee from the womb; I am the Lord that maketh all things, that ſtretcheth forth the heavens alone; that ſpreadeth abroad the earth by myſelf; that confirmeth the word of his ſervant, and performeth the counſel of his meſſengers; that ſaith to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be inhabited: and to the cities of Judah, Ye ſhall be built; and I will raiſe up the decayed places thereof: that ſaith of Cyrus, He is my ſhepherd, and ſhall perform all my pleaſure: even ſaying to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation ſhall be laid.

Hiſtories inform us, that this Cyrus was a victorious prince; exalted by conqueſt a mighty monarch over the eaſtern world. Yet how triumphant ſoever he might be in the arm of fleſh, through ſuperior experience and ſkill in war, we find that he himſelf ſtill acknowledgeth his ſubordination to the king of heaven. For we read, that [a] *in the firſt year of Cyrus, king of Perſia, the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of Cyrus, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it alſo in writing, ſaying, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an houſe in Je-*

[a] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.

ruſalem

ruſalem which is in Judah: who is there among you of all his people? the Lord his God be with him, and let him go up. A very remarkable declaration *this* of confidence in the one ſupreme God, from a moſt accompliſhed heathen potentate! We find in profane hiſtory the ſame religious ſpirit breathing through his ſentiments, eſpecially towards his laſt moments, which might proceed from the ſecret ſuggeſtions of the ſame God of truth.

It would be ſuperfluous to prove before this audience, that the ſupreme magiſtrate hath frequently been denominated among the ancients under the ſtile and title of a ſhepherd: which figure, no doubt, was taken from a ſimilitude of care, and watchfulneſs in the *one*, over his flock, to that of the *other*, over the community.

The words of the text, and a due reflexion upon the original ſource, to which the Holy Spirit aſcribes the power of Cyrus, concurrent with his own acknowledgments, together with a conſideration of the co-operating human means, by which his dominion was acquired and eſtabliſhed, will furniſh our minds with ſeveral uſeful remarks, ſuitable to the inſtitution of the preſent feſtival; directive of

our

our civil conduct: and our meditations may be digeſted under the following topicks of inquiry:

Firſt, into the foundation of civil polity in general, and the origin of its various modes and forms.

Secondly, into the peculiar advantages of our own form of legiſlature in particular.

Thirdly, into the uſe of ſuch inſtituted feſtivals as the preſent, deducible from the doctrine here delivered.

Firſt then, if we begin our inquiries with the foundation of civil polity in general, we ſhall find one of the moſt obvious conceptions that occurs to us concerning the nature of man is, that he is a *political* being: i. e. a being formed for neceſſary conjunction in ſociety. Our numerous wants, and dependencies upon each other, from the time of infant weakneſs to decrepit age, even through the ſtage of manly ſtrength and vigor, the mutual aſſiſtances which we are enabled to communicate to each other, the irkſomeneſs of ſolitude, the delights of friendſhip, have always proved, that man muſt ſeek for the happineſs

and

and ſupport of his nature in ſocial connexions: and conſequently that he was intended by the author of his nature for a ſocial agent.

Monkiſh ſolitude is as far from the purpoſes of humanity, as it is from religion. For what would become of the human ſpecies, and even of the ſecluded hermit himſelf, if all men, like himſelf, were to dedicate their days, and rational faculties, to ſolitary inactivity? where would be the riches of the unconnected multitude? where the common conveniencies or ſecurity of life, without the ſubſervient hand of the labourer, the communicative induſtry of the artificer, or the protecting eye of the watchful magiſtrate? It is the ſtate, that guards the retirement of the hermit; whatever notions of independency he may have formed within himſelf. Nature then, that is, the regular eſtabliſhed order of providence in the natural world, directs man to ſociety: but all ſociety, eſpecially as far as we are converſant in it, amidſt infirm depraved creatures, neceſſarily infers, nay ſuppoſes ſubordination: and all eſtabliſhed regular ſubordination is *government*.

This ſhort chain of deductions leads us to one general concluſion, that God *wills* government amongſt mankind, which is no more

more than ſociety eſtabliſhed. And therefore in all debates about the general foundation of authority and ſubjection, the beſt way will be to carry men back to the firſt directing mover towards civil polity; to *his* will and appointment, who, in the natural courſe of things, hath made ſubordination neceſſary; who conſtituted this ſtate of mutual dependance amongſt his creatures.

St. Paul therefore very fitly repreſents this neceſſary ſubordination in ſociety, the connexions between each member of the community, and their mutual dependance upon each other, by the metaphor of an human body, wherein no one organ, joint, or ligament, can be ſpared without a manifeſt inconvenience to the whole: So that [a] *the eye cannot ſay unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you; nay much more thoſe members of the body which ſeem to be more feeble*, i. e. inferior, or leſs excellent, *are neceſſary*. Men in ſhort, eſpecially the more feeble, (and who would not be feeble without alliance?) men, I ſay, neceſſarily unite into ſocieties, not only for mutual aſſiſtance in providing the conveniencies of life, and for mutual ſupport, but alſo

[a] 1 Cor. xii. 21, 22.

that they may have the united ſtrength of the whole body to defend their properties. Thus far reaches the uſe, and abſolute neceſſity of ſubordination in general.

As to the origin of the different forms of civil polity, if we would not be deceived herein, if we would fairly examine things, and proceed upon ſuch principles, as may be of ſervice to the community wherein we are ſituated, not ſuſpending action or ſubmiſſion to *any* form, till our own maxims are eſtabliſhed, we muſt not be guided merely by hypotheſis, but advert to fact; not adhering obſtinately to the determinations of what we may imagine *ought* to be; but obſerving what we ſhall find to have *really been* the foundation of empires. For if all ſubmiſſion and allegiance were to be ſuſpended in the ſtate, till *every* individual was ſatisfied in the eſtabliſhment of his own ſcheme, nothing but confuſion could enſue. All government, and the very being of ſociety muſt drop at once. It might rather perhaps become chriſtians to conſider, what gave to the Roman emperors their title, even when the apoſtles commanded their converts to ſubmit peaceably to their authority; or to Tiberius his right, when our Saviour injoined men to pay him tribute.

The

The firſt original form of civil government has been placed by ſome in paternal authority. This might probably have been the ſeat of its reſidence, while the family of mankind was ſmall. In the infancy of the world, when the whole human ſpecies was included within the narrow precincts of one habitation, it is reaſonable to conclude, that all authority would reſide in the father of the houſhold. The tender care and inſpection with which he had guarded their childhood, and conducted their youthful imbecillity into a ſtate of manhood, muſt make them repoſe an entire confidence in his affection; and his more aged experience render them ſubmiſſive to his judgment. The exerciſe of his guardianſhip indeed, in tnat primæval ſtate, was confined within a very narrow ſphere of watchfulneſs. They were only to be forewarned againſt the ſavage beaſts of prey, that ranged the field. As to the more ravenous tyger, and more ſubtle wolf of prey of the human ſpecies, there yet were none of that kind ranging abroad, to be guarded againſt. We read indeed of a very early inſtance of domeſtick murther: but then the only murtherer in the world was ſoon pointed out to the family, and a mark ſet upon him. The fact had been committed

through the inſtigation of envy, not for any litigious incurſion upon diſputed property, or the extenſion of domains, the moſt frequent cauſe of ſlaughters afterwards. The father was ſtill ſeated in his primitive chair of authority, which no perſon could diſpute with him, and the children ſafe from foreign invaſions. Thus the direction of this little original commonwealth would naturally centre in the common father of the race.

But as this family increaſed, and grew too large for the limits of its own incloſures, diſtinct branches were ſeparated from it. Theſe ſeparate families would naturally form themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties, each under the authority of its reſpective father, who had led forth the colony. And as theſe little independent ſtates were multiplied, each under its own domeſtick laws, and the guardianſhip of its own private father, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that if the head of any one collateral branch ſhould pretend to uſurp authority, or arbitrarily domineer over the reſt, his claim would be ſoon diſputed. It would immediately be aſked, *who made* thee *a ruler, and a judge over* us? have not *we* a father, who led us forth, and who protects us, to whom therefore we will ſubmit? rule over

thine

thine own colony, and protect thine own children.

But if the intereſts of two or more colonies became ſo naturally connected by reaſon of their vicinity, or other circumſtances, that they could not ſubſiſt ſo ſafely, or conveniently in a diſunited form, theſe intereſts, and theſe relations would make them ſeek after ſome common bond of union; and ſubject themſelves for mutual benefit and ſupport to one common ruler. This ruler might probably have been the father of one of theſe originally independent colonies, whom they had obſerved to be moſt active, faithful, and judicious; moſt able to watch and protect them againſt foreign annoyances, or to quell any domeſtick diſturbances; whom for theſe purpoſes, they agree by mutual conſent, to place as their governor over them. Here then was a mixture of *fatherhood* and *compact:* paternal right, i. e. the direction of nature gave him a title to preſcribe to his own family: mutual compact of the two uniting bodies called him forth to preſide over others, on account of his diſtinguiſhed merit.

As the world grew more fully peopled with inhabitants, and the earth afforded leſs extenſive room of property to each, mutual jea-

jealouſies would naturally ariſe between different ſtates, and diſputes about property neceſſarily ſpring up. Ambition and avarice then began to ſhew their baleful influence; the leader of one people began to march forth againſt another; hoſtile acts commenced; arms determined the title to the diſputed property, and with it fixt anew the ſtyle and power of government. The vanquiſhed colony might ſoon find it prudent, for the ends of ſocial life, to ſubmit peaceably to their late conqueror; being convinced by their captivity of the inability of their former leader to protect them; of the ſuperior prudence and experience of their new victor, and his capacity to guard them againſt any future foreign invaſions. To *whom* therefore they were ſubjected at firſt by force, as their *conqueror*, to *him* they now conſent to pay allegiance by choice, as their moſt able *protector*.

For I may appeal to hiſtories, whether men have not been induced to give up, by conſent, the reins of polity into *his* hands, even afterwards to rejoice, and triumph in *his* government, and go forth to war againſt their neighbours, under *his* banner and auſpices, who was at firſt only an invader, and a victor over themſelves. Here then is a mixture of

paternal

paternal authority, of *compact*, and of *conqueſt*. Paternal claim gave him the firſt title to preſidency over his own children and family: conſent of neighbouring colonies made him a ruler over other families: the law of arms made him victor over nations: the voluntary agreement of theſe nations to peaceable ſubmiſſion afterwards confirmed his right of ruling over them. Thus when arms prevailed, conqueſt gave claim to power, and with the victor's laurel beſtowed the monarch's ſceptre.

Thus we ſhall find, that the title, which Cyrus enjoyed to many parts of his empire, was founded originally in conqueſt: yet we obſerve him at the ſame time aſſerted by the firſt all-wiſe mover as a ſecondary agent under him, advanced by theſe means *to perform all his pleaſure*. And in the beginning of the next chapter, he is denominated under the ſacred character of the *Lord's Anointed*[a]: *Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden to ſubdue nations before him; I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtrait, I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron, and I will give thee the hidden riches of ſecret places.*

[a] Iſa. xlv. 1, &c.

In

In proceſs of time, when ſovereigns began to abuſe their power to the oppreſſion of their ſubjects, and that authority, which had been intended to protect, was made uſe of to enſlave, civil animoſities then aroſe; and as men alternately aſſerted their natural liberties with ſucceſs, or were ſubdued by the ſuperior force of the tyrant, ſtates became differently modelled. Few long remained in a condition of abject ſlavery without ſome commotion, ſome ſtruggles and throws of nature to regain her freedom. But where ſubjects vindicated their liberties with final ſucceſs, there was room for an infinite variety of different forms and models to be introduced, according to the different intereſts, tempers, and circumſtances of the people.

Accordingly we perceive, that various prevailing principles or ſentiments of government in different ages, various maxims, that for a time have gained the aſcendant, various prevailing humours or temperaments of the ſubject, or of popular leading men in the community, have diſpoſed a nation, in ſome ages, to ſubmit to *one* form of government, rather than *another*. Conquerors have undoubtedly been oftentimes inſtruments to introduce various forms of legiſlature, whether as a bleſſing,

or puniſhment to nations, under him, who ſaid once of Cyrus, *He ſhall perform all my pleaſure.*

The inconveniencies of *one* kind ſeem as frequently to have cauſed others to be deviſed. For when kings, who *are*, or *ought*, by their paternal vigilance, to be as fathers to their people, have trampled upon the rules of paternal tenderneſs; when the father grows arbitrarily tyrannical in his commands, and inſtead of acting the part of an affectionate parent, acts that of an unnatural oppreſſor, it is no wonder if the children begin to remonſtrate, and endeavour to convert the ſtream of power into that channel of gentle rational diſcipline, for which government was at firſt ordained.

For the all-bounteous Creator certainly can never *will* the continuance of that power, to the deſtruction and miſery of his creatures, which was intended purely for their welfare and happineſs. Accordingly we find from the hiſtory and experience of all ages and nations, that nature will remonſtrate againſt tyranny, cruelty, and unjuſt exerciſes of power. Paſſions are implanted in the human breaſt by the very author of ſociety, to be alarming, active guardians of our freedom; and in proportion as the ſpring of civil liberty hath been bent downwards by oppreſſion, it will by a kind of

natural elaſticity return, and react with the greater vigor.

Correſpondent to theſe remonſtrances of nature, we obſerve the voice of God, againſt unnatural oppreſſors, under the perſon of Coniah the ſon of Jehoiakim king of Judah: [a] *Shalt thou reign becauſe thou cloſeſt thyſelf in cedar? did not thy father do juſtice and judgment? then it was well with him. But thine eyes, and thine heart are not but for thy covetouſneſs, and for oppreſſion, and for violence to do it: therefore as I live, ſaith the Lord, though Coniah the ſon of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, were the ſignet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence.* God himſelf likewiſe hath more than once judicially executed the denunciation in fact amidſt his own people, having transferred the ſceptre from one family to another, where the father thereof had not walked before him in righteouſneſs and judgment. Thus he rent the kingdom from Saul, and gave it to David, and his children, by a perpetual covenant; yet we remark even *this* covenant conditional; that it was not without interruptions of peace and order in the ſucceſſion, where the iniquity of the governor, or the ſins of the people gave occaſion. [b] *I will cut off from Ahab*, ſaith the ſevere ſentence of God, *every one that is left to*

[a] Jer. xxii. 15, &c. [b] 1 Kings xxi. 21.

him in Iſrael, under a proverbial phraſe of thoſe days which denoteth total exciſion. Such revolutions might ſeem in thoſe ages, at firſt ſight, to be brought about by the ſole conduct of man, and natural means; but the ſpirit of revelation, which ſeeth deeper than man ſeeth, informs us, that they proceeded from the juſt judgment of a ſupreme, inviſible director.

Again, variations of circumſtances, purſuits, and occupations may have made one and the ſame nation vary from itſelf, as to the modes of its civil polity, in different periods of its exiſtence: whilſt each mode was peculiarly adapted to the age in which it prevailed. Thus abſolute power may beſt anſwer the ſecret ſpeedy execution required for warlike purpoſes, the haſty propulſion of publick danger, or the ſudden extenſion of empire. For which reaſon even the Roman ſtate, though ſo jealous of its freedom, yet ſometimes choſe to conſtitute its dictators. Merchandice, and arts may beſt flouriſh under a government ſomewhat more popular, or which admits a mixture of the ariſtocratick kind, and allows room for the emulation of private ſubjects to exert itſelf. We have no argument to demonſtrate, that the almighty Sovereign ever intended *one univerſal* form of government to be eſtabliſhed over the face of the whole earth, in *one uninterrupted*

lineal ſucceſſion. If we argue from his providential permiſſions in *all* countries, or his judicial interpoſitions in *ſome*, we may infer the contrary.

He governed his own people, when he himſelf was their peculiar ſuperintendant, by the agency of judges: but when they deſired a king, according to the eaſtern mode of polity, he indulged them in their requeſt; and then the immediate theocracy ceaſed.

St. Peter [a] repreſents the ſeveral ranks and degrees of civil magiſtrates as the ordinance of *man:* which, in reſpect to the original ſource of their authority, are by St. Paul ſtiled the ordinance of *God. Submit yourſelves*, ſaith the former apoſtle, *to every ordinance of* man, πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει; *to every* creature *of man*; or magiſtrate created *by man: whether it be to the king as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* We have, in theſe words, repreſented to us, in one conciſe view, the true end of civil polity, the conſtituent diſpoſers of civil power, the only ſolid ground, and motive of ſubmiſſion. The end thereof is the peace, and happineſs of the human ſpecies, ſupported by the reward of ſocial virtue, and the puniſhment of

[a] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

law-

lawleſs vice: the true principle of ſubmiſſion is that of obedience to the will of God: we are exhorted to ſubmit ourſelves, *for the Lord's ſake*; whether as creatures of the great God, and conſequently under a duty of conformity to his appointments; or as diſciples of Chriſt, and conſequently bound by the laws of Chriſt; or as concerned to promote the religion of Jeſus, demonſtrating the good effects of chriſtian faith upon ſociety, by our own peaceable ſubjection to every ſocial ordinance. The conſtituents of civil authority, under the ſupreme Creator, are men: the extent of ſubmiſſion to the ſeveral modes and forms of legiſlature is implied in this phraſe, *to* every *ordinance*, πάσῃ κτίσει; and the dependance of theſe various modes upon the voluntary deciſions and determinations of different complex bodies is intimated in this phraſe, *to every ordinance of* man: ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει.

Upon the whole then, the truth ſeems to be this; that God intended government among men, from the circumſtances in which he hath created men. He hath made them mutually dependent upon each other, and conſequently ſocial ſubordinate beings. But then he leaves to the determination of the different bodies and complexions of men, as ſecondary agents under him, the choice, and appointment of the

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different forms in which they will be governed. Yet he expects ſubmiſſion to *all*, when they *are* appointed; otherwiſe there would be nothing elſe but a perpetual round of variations, and revolutions, of diſcord, war, and tumult in ſociety, according to the different fancies, and intereſts, and ambitious ſchemes of each individual.

As to the reſpective excellencies of each form, theſe have long been matter of diſpute amongſt men of a political turn; and the juſt preference of either may probably continue ſo, among diſputatious men, as long as ſome infirmities or defects ſhall attend the execution even of the beſt ordinances among mankind: that is, as long as men ſhall continue to be, what they are, frail, imperfect creatures. However thus much we may plainly perceive, that God wills ſubmiſſion to *ſome* form, becauſe he wills *ſociety*, having created mutual dependances, and having made mutual ſubordinate communications neceſſary to the ſupport of the individual. Thus far ſubmiſſion, even for *conſcience ſake*, appears a duty upon natural principles of obedience to the will of our Creator, manifeſted in the relations of natural things. Infirmities *may* and *will* adhere to adminiſtrations of government; as well as to every other diſcharge of duty amidſt

amidſt imperfect beings. For we muſt remember that earthly governors are *men*, and not *angels*. Scripture indeed, in reſpect to the dignity of their office, and its ſimilarity to the divine ſuperintendance, hath ſtiled them *gods*; yet the very beſt, in the records of hiſtory, have always had imperfections enough, even in their higheſt improvements, to convince us that they were ſtill *men*. Conſequently not every defect of prudence, according to our meaſures of judgment, in the ſovereign, nothing but the higheſt violations of publick juſtice, and ſubverſions of publick right, and of the very end of government, can diſſolve the duty of allegiance in the ſubject.

The happineſs, and ſuperior excellence of our own form of legiſlature, and the great reaſon we have to rejoice in it, which was the *ſecond* point propoſed for our meditation, is ſufficiently diſcernible in this one inſtance; it is that very form of government, which ſpeculative writers of the greateſt eminence, both ancient and modern, have pointed out, as the moſt *perfect*, though unable to introduce it into their reſpective ſtates. A monarchy duly limited has been looked upon as the brighteſt pattern of perfection in government; but that a pattern in ſpeculation rather than reducible into fact: a light to be viewed and admired

at a diſtance; the friendly warmth of whoſe benign rays could not be felt within their own hemiſphere: a plan calculated for ſpeedy execution, upon any ſudden emergency, and for wiſdom of council, where time for deliberation is admitted: wherein the king has authority to declare war, and command immediate action, upon any haſty approach of his enemies, or to accelerate his enterprizes ſecretly, for any important advantage to the ſtate: but then the nerves of war, the ſupply of publick contributions for its continuance, are ſubjected to the prudence of publick conſideration. Thus happily are we conſtituted to enjoy one of the principal privileges of monarchy, the celerity and ſecrecy of its operations, without the danger of that, which is one of its greateſt miſeries, a ſubjection to arbitrary will and diſpoſal.

It is in peace likewiſe the peculiar happineſs of our conſtitution, that the experience of the whole nation is, as it were, annually ſummoned, and compacted into one body; that diſcreet and able repreſentatives of the people are called together to conſult the welfare of the whole community. Thus, if the remark of the wiſe man be true, *that in the multitude of counſellors there is ſafety*, we muſt conclude, that our own republick, guided by

diſcre-

diſcretion, is built upon a rock of ages. How far ſhe hath proſpered in fact, through many generations, may be ſeen in that high ſeat of character, which ſhe hath long poſſeſſed amidſt her neighbours. Our conſtitution in ſhort enjoys the mixt emoluments ſelected out of every form, without the ſeparate diſadvantages attending each diſtinct. Our king limited in power reaches forth to us the privileges of monarchy without tyranny: our peers poſſeſs the rank of ariſtocratick governors, without the feuds and inteſtine ſlaughters ariſing from the jealouſy of nobles unreſtrained by any ſuperior head: our repreſentatives of the commons are a branch of democratick power, without the confuſion, diſſipation, and madneſs of an unreſtrained common multitude.

Never was monarch leſs deſirous of unlimited lawleſs authority over his ſubjects, than the prince, with whom the ſupream power of this ſo happily tempered community is at preſent intruſted. We may this day congratulate ourſelves in a prince, whoſe ambition it is to fulfil the end of government in one particular character, for which civil polity is recommended by St. Paul, whoſe deſire it is to govern rather in the diſtribution of civil rewards, than the infliction of puniſhments: yet when

nature and humanity oblige him to puniſh, we have ſeen, from a late inſtance in this place, the reſentment with which he feels the loſs of a ſubject, conſequently his parental tenderneſs over each, from his ſolicitude to bring an horrid parricide to clear judicial conviction, and the enormous criminal once convicted, to condign puniſhment; if any puniſhment can be called worthy of a crime ſo abhorrent to nature.

To aim at the whole extent of the royal character, would carry me beyond the uſual limits of time preſcribed to my office in this place; yet ſomething is due to the authority of our church in her inſtitution of this day's ſolemnity, as indeed much is due to the merit of the royal perſonage anointed over us.

For if it be an allowed injuſtice to defraud any common member in the community of his due character, how much more to defraud the ſovereign magiſtrate? whoſe fame is more widely canvaſſed; whoſe example is more extenſive; whoſe honour is more redundant to the credit, or diſcredit of the body, over which he preſides.

Here then let us begin to honour the king in that part of his character, wherein the king principally delighteth to be honoured, his invio-

inviolable attachment to the ſtrict veracity of his word, and his ſacred regard to diſtributive juſtice among his ſubjects: let us acknowledge his affection, which amply ſupplies the room of a father, to the promiſing heir of his crown and dignity: his diſcernment in the choice of the propereſt governors to preſide over the moſt important point of intereſt to his ſucceſſor, and to the kingdom, the formation of its prince's mind: his ſympathetick ſenſation of the widow's grief: his benevolent ſtudy to relieve it, in his tender guardianſhip over the reſt of her royal children: his faithful vigilance over his dominions, as his family extended. The proviſions made on a late intereſting occaſion are a conſpicuous inſtance of his foreſeeing prudence: proviſions not better adapted to ſolace the heart of the fatherleſs, than to confirm the heart of the nation: which made the heart of the widow, as it were, to revive; and the heart of the nation to reſt with confidence, well ſecured in the poſſeſſion of her ancient degree of regal dignity. Wiſdom may be eſteemed; juſtice may be revered; power may be dreaded; but equity, integrity, humanity, paternal affection, and univerſal benevolence, muſt in every character be beloved.

His eſteem for academick learning, whatever unfavourable opinions ſome may entertain thereof, and his ſenſe of the publick benefits ariſing from this method of training up the youthful mind, is proved in his own munificent endowment, or rather foundation, as it may be called, of an univerſity for the ſervice of his ſubjects ſeated within his native dominions. His regard frequently expreſſed to the two ancient ſeats of literature, which have been long the eyes and ornaments of this kingdom, his annual aſſignment, out of his revenues, of a liberal ſtipend, for the ſupport of an additional profeſſor in each, dedicated to the encouragement of modern languages and hiſtory, demand the gratitude of all who love theſe ſeats. May no competitions ever prevail, or be encouraged between theſe two illuſtrious ſiſters, engaged in the ſame glorious work of education, either unworthy of themſelves, or men of the politeſt learning! May they ſtand united in affection, as in the breaſt of the king! May their only emulation be to excel all other ſeminaries of ſcience, as much in knowledge, and the rudiments of every ſocial, and private virtue, as they ſurpaſs all others in the nature of their conſtitution, and truly academick diſcipline! And may they always retain and

cheriſh thoſe ſeeds of ſubjection and loyalty to princes, which have been their ornament, and ancient ſtabiliment before the thrones of princes!

Theſe are the ſchools, where the foundations are laid of moral, civil, and religious virtue. Let us take heed that the rudiments of ſcience be kept uncorrupt: that the child in knowledge be fed with *the ſincere milk of the word* of truth. For ſuch as the nutrition is, that forms, as it were, the firſt ſtamina of life, ſuch will be the ſtrong meat that is digeſted afterwards. Such as the ſpeculative principles are, ſuch will the practical habits exert themſelves, either to the benefit, or prejudice, to the honour, or diſcredit of the fountain, whence they were imbibed.

Young perſons ſhould here eſpecially learn thoſe principles of moral ſcience, and civil ſubjection; ſhould here acquaint themſelves with thoſe foundations of government, and the true end of its appointment; ſhould here, by their conformity to academick laws, contract thoſe habits, and exhibit thoſe ſpecimens of ſubmiſſion in their early years, which may promiſe, and ſend them forth in maturer days, orderly, and peaceable, and uſeful members of the ſtate, whereof they conſtitute a part. For it is generally obſerved, that thoſe perſons,

ſons, who in their younger years have been diſobedient or refractory to their governors, within the ſmaller ſocieties of education, have uſually come abroad perverſe, and obſtinate, and troubleſome members of the great political world: uneaſy within themſelves, and diſagreeable to mankind. Habits of any ſort are difficult to be corrected; but more eſpecially habits of diſobedience, pertneſs, licentiouſneſs, and ſelf-conceited contumacy ſuperior to advice.

Theſe are the reflexions, which the preſent ſolemnity ſuggeſted: pardon me, if I have treſpaſſed upon your patience too long! Theſe introduce my *third* and laſt remark, which was to infer, in few words, the uſe of ſuch ſtated feſtivals, and aſſemblies, as the preſent.

We are called together, by the appointment of our church, in one joyful congregation, to return our tribute of thanks to the great diſpoſer of all authority, for the happineſs we enjoy under the peaceful eſtabliſhment of a regular ſociety, and to pray for the continuance of the bleſſing, under the care and protection of a vigilant monarch. Such a ſolemnity therefore will naturally call to our recollection the benefits, which we receive from this eſtabliſhment, that ſo we may not offer thanks to God for bleſſings which we do not

not underſtand, nor prayers for the continuance of that, which we do not really deſire.

One reaſon, why we are injoined to offer up prayers, and ſupplications for kings, is to inſtruct us, that we are dependent upon the *Lord of Lords* for the bleſſings which we receive by the hands of kings: to teach us at the ſame time our obligations of gratitude to thoſe, whom we acknowledge the providence of God to have placed over us. Princes, at the ſame time, are reminded of their duty to their people, by the prayers, which they offer up in conjunction with their people. This is the excellence of our liturgy appointed for this day, and alſo of the conſtant communion ſervice of our church, that it is calculated to anſwer both theſe purpoſes. Wherein the king is reminded in the moſt ſolemn manner, *whoſe miniſter he is*; and the people are admoniſhed, *whoſe authority he hath.* Such a ſervice cannot but be excellently adapted to promote mutual amity and confidence between prince and people; to diſpoſe all ſerious minds, actuated by a ſenſe of the preſence they are in, and of the omniſcient being, to whom they offer up their addreſſes, to unite earneſtly in all human means for the promotion of thoſe bleſſings, which they aſk at the throne of grace.

grace. Let it then finally be obſerved, that as no religion is more favourable to princes, ſo none eſtabliſhes ſubjection upon better principles, or inculcates it by more regular, repeated ſuggeſtions, than that of the church of England. It is the glory of this ſeat of religion, and literature, to have been through many ages, one of the main pillars, and ſupports of the church of England.

May we all anſwer the true end of its foundation, in our labours for the promotion of the divine glory, and the ſupport, and dignity of our happy conſtitution both in church, and ſtate! May he who raiſed up Cyrus his ſhepherd, *to perform all his pleaſure*, preſerve a ſhepherd over us, concerned like Cyrus for the houſe of God, ſtrenuous for the faith of which he is ſtiled the defender! And may this, with reſpect to our commonwealth, be the reſolution of every one of *us*, which was the rule of Cicero, with little variation: "As we "all ſail, like as in one common ſhip, may "we unite to keep her in the true courſe to "publick happineſs! We hope it may be "with a proſperous gale; but whatever the "winds may be, *our* beſt endeavours ſhall "not be wanting."

Above

Above all, let us remember, that the œconomy of this world, with all its ſeveral intereſts, and modes of polity, about which we now conteſt ſo much, ſhall one day have an end: and then ſhall men no longer be weighed in the balance, by the little diſtinctions of fortune, or elevations of civil dignity; but according as they have anſwered the ends of providence, in theſe his civil diſpenſations: and when the great conqueror of all, death ſhall have leveled all, and himſelf at length *be ſwallowed up in victory*, an immediate univerſal theocracy ſhall then begin, *and god ſhall be all in all.*

FINIS.

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